

ASHESI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

CONTEMPORARY AFRICA-CHINA RELATIONS RE-EXAMINING THE
COLLABORATION-DOMINATION DEBATE

By

ZHANG QICHEN

Dissertation submitted to the Department of Business Administration, Ashesi University
College.

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Bachelor of Science degree in
Business Administration

APRIL 2016

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature:

Candidate's Name: Zhang Qichen

Date:

I hereby declare that the presentation and preparation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by Ashesi University College.

Supervisor's Signature:

Supervisor's Name: Dr. Lloyd G. Adu Amoah

Date:

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Abstract

As China emerges to be a new global power, its relation with Africa is overheated with domination or collaboration debate. The pessimistic argues that China offers puny aid aimed at exploiting nature resources and creating a neo-colonialism state in Africa, while the optimistic argues that Chinese aid is aimed at creating mutual win-win collaboration that tend to lift poverty in Africa. This study will attempt to offer explanation using historical and aid/investment analysis as a focal point of reference. In this regard this work seeks to position Africa-China relation debate within historical, contemporary context as well as examine the nature of aid.

Key words: Africa, China, history, aid/investment

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

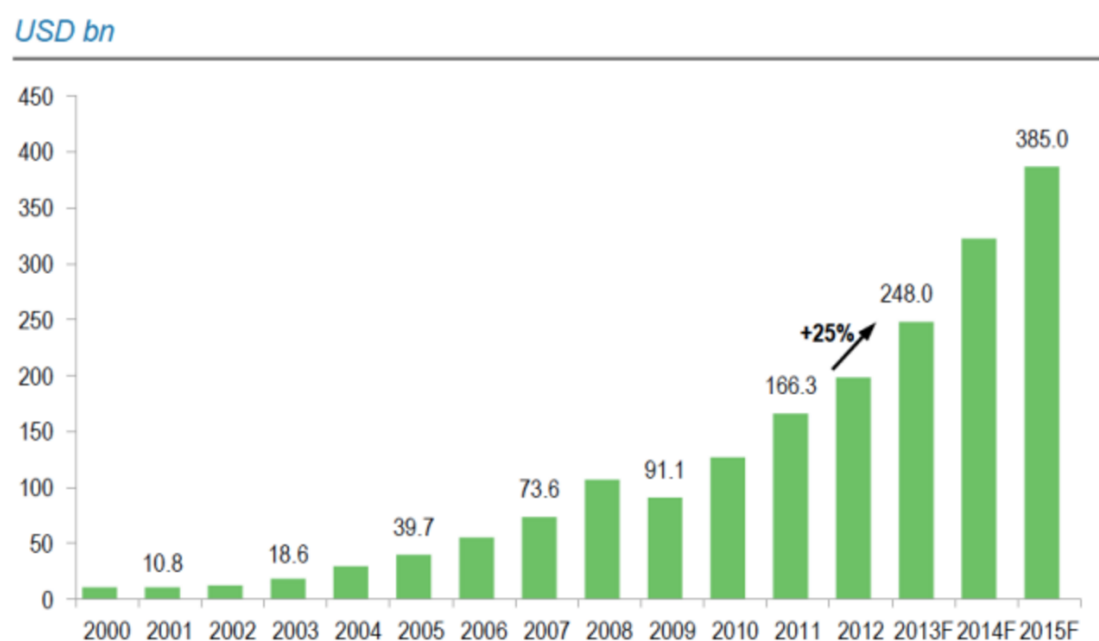
1.1 Background

The sleeping giant, Africa, is gradually reviving after decades of hibernation or “lost decades”¹ post-independence. With its abundant fertile land and natural resources, Africa possesses the largest amounts of unexplored virgin land in the world, just waiting to be cultivated (intelligent HQ, 2011). Because of depleting resources and fertile land in other regions, Africa has the potential to rise as a global economic powerhouse and possibly global political power too. With infrastructure, health, education and many other sectors underdeveloped, Africa represents a place of fortune not just limited to governments but also private investors. This hidden treasure is drawing the attention of “the Dragon”². With trade volume exceeding \$156.4 billion in 2013, China has become Africa’s largest trading partner. China surpassed America, which is the second largest trading partner by \$84.3 billion in 2013 (The Economist, 2015). In addition to the remarkable volume of trade, China is also giving fairly large amount of aid to Africa: \$ 5 billion in 2006, \$10 billion in 2009 and \$ 20 billion in 2012 (Cheng, 2016). Figure 1 below shows the volume of trade between China and Africa from 2000 to 2015; one can observe the exponential growth in volume. These increments in trade can also be interpreted as increase interdependency of between the partners and stronger relation ties.

¹ Africa after 1960, Independence was followed by political instability, violent conflict and economic stagnation lasting for about a half-century (lost decades) (Bates, Coatsworth, & Williamson, 2006)

² Brautigam (2009), referred China as the Dragon from the East.

Figures 1 Volume of trade between China and Africa (2000-2015)



Source: MOFCOM, Standard Chartered Research

In 2013 spring, President Xi Jinping visited Tanzania and the Republic of Congo on his first trip abroad as a Chinese president. In his speech "Remaining Reliable Friends and Faithful Partners Forever" delivered at Julius Nyerere International Convention Center in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, President Xi emphasized the historical relationship between China and Africa and stated that "China will continue to offer necessary assistance to Africa with no strings attached" (Xi, 2013). In addition, he also promised to turn Africa's endowment resources into development strength and develop a sustainable model that can move the continent out of poverty (Xi, 2013). President Xi pledged \$60 billion for development in Africa in his visit to Zimbabwe and South Africa in 2015. The pledge includes \$5 billion of free aid and interest-free loans, \$35 billion of preferential loans and export credit, \$5 billion dollars of additional capital for the China-Africa Development Fund and the Special Loan for the Development of African Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), and \$10 billion of funding for China-Africa production capacity cooperation. This signifies China's

commitment to grow her relationship and strategic ties with Africa (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2013). The large trade volumes blended with aid package and frequent top official visits can be seen as evidence of deepening Sino-Africa relation in recent times. Controversially, Africa was ignored by China in the early years of reform from 1980s to 1990s (Liang, 2012). The reemergence of Sino-Africa relations on the agenda of high politics and increasing reports from academia and economic field since the beginning of this century is not something new. In political terms, Africa is seen as a strategic front East-West soft power rivalry encounter. China's reengineering of its diplomatic priorities and the commitment of more resources to once-lost connections with developing countries particularly in Africa (Liang, 2012) is not surprising.

Despite the volume of aid mentioned above, others still recognize China's aid budget as puny, as displayed in one of the Economist's articles: "One among many: China has become big in Africa, now for the backlash." The author commented that "Chinese aid budget (to Africa) is puny (compared to that of the West using Official Development Aid (ODA) or the broader category Official Development Finance (ODF)" (The Economist, 2015). According to the president of China's Export Import Bank (Exim Bank) Li Ruogu, in Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) 2006, China promised to commit \$20 billion to finance business in the period 2006 to 2008; this surpassed the \$17 billion budget of the World Bank of the same period (Brautigam, 2009).

ODA is defined by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as concessional funding given to developing countries and to multilateral institutions primarily for promoting welfare and development in the recipient country that

is concessional in character (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). However, China is not a member of OECD, hence does not follow this definition or practice on development aid, and is an aid recipient itself. Instead, China provides eight types of aid namely: complete project, goods and materials, technical cooperation, human resource development cooperation, medical assistance, emergency humanitarian aid, volunteer programs and debt relief (Xinhua News, 2011). China's aid to Africa also ranges across diverse sectors including agriculture, education, transportation, energy, communication, and health. China's own policy actively contributes to the confusion between development finance and aid. The Chinese government encourages its agencies and commercial entities to "closely mix and combine foreign aid, direct investment, service contracts, labor cooperation, foreign trade and export" (EXIM Bank, 2006). Therefore, the blended nature of the aid package makes it difficult for statistical work hence causing lots of confusion. The inaccuracies in the media and other reports, and the problem of cross-quotation of inaccurate data (some confuse Yuan (RMB) with the dollar), have muddled the picture and amplified the misunderstanding surrounding Chinese development finance in Africa (Yun, 2014).

The reflections above sum up the great opportunity and the need to undertake a thorough research to examine Chinese aid and its implications on the nature of China-Africa relations.

1.2 Research Question

What is the nature of the contemporary relationship between China and Africa? Is it a form of domination or collaboration?

To respond to the question above the researcher will concentrate on commercial and

economic aspects to explain the relationship. The following are the sub-questions that the researcher will attempt to answer:

- 1) How can China's presence in Africa be explained theoretically?
- 2) What explains China's investment and aid to Africa?
- 3) In what sense are we talking about collaboration or domination?

1.3 Research Objectives

This work will analyze the relationship between China and Africa from the historical and economic perspectives. To be more specific, this paper will shine more light on investment, which tends to create potential for self-directed growth in Africa like support for education, basic infrastructure like roads, hospitals, power plants etc. in order to unveil the complexity and correct some dubious claims made on contemporary Africa-China relations. In addition, this paper will outline some historical stages of development between China and Africa to inform objectively about the nature of relationship between China and Africa within the historical context. The research also seeks to unveil stages of Sino-Africa relationship, offer an objective overview of the current level of Chinese engagement with Africa, and find out whether the mode of aid from China is truly helping Africa or not.

1.4 Problem Statement

The complexity of poverty problems in Africa cannot be overemphasized, if the problem of poverty can boil down to one single cause, then, it is not a problem after all. Poverty is rooted in multidimensional and multiple causes for which no single country or organization has the solution. China as an emerging economy has spent billions of dollars

in Africa promoting a win-win solution that can ease the worrying poverty levels.

Despite the heavy level of infrastructural support that has been extended, little research has been done on the impact of these projects (stadia, power plants, hydro dams, roads and bridges) on the life of Africans. This research seeks to highlight development stages of Sino-African relationship and evaluate the impact of some of these projects in Africa. Through this research will re-examine the domination-collaboration debate.

1.5 Demarcations

1. Introduction	
2. Literature Review	
3. Methodology	
4. Chinese Aid/Investment in Africa ⁴	
5. Discussion of Findings	
6 Conclusion, Recommendation and Limitation	
Appendix, Tables and Bibliography	

1.6 Dissertation Outline

Chapter 1

This section gives a brief background and provides a fair idea about what this thesis is about, as well as objective for undertaking the research. This section also introduces the

problem statement and the lay out of the research.

Chapter 2

This section contains the literature on Sino-Africa relations from a historical perspective, contemporary engagements as well as previous studies on Sino-Africa relation. The purpose of this chapter is to explore concepts and theories of other researchers in order to present what is new about this research.

Chapter 3

This section contains methods used in obtaining data, the methodology in analyzing data as well as limitation and challenges encountered in data collection.

Chapter 4

This section contains theoretical framework in gathering, analyzing data and provides reader a comprehensive insight about how data collection is done in this paper.

Chapter 5

This section analyses the result and finding from the previous sections. It also provides answers to questions posed in the previous chapters. This section also entails extensive discussion of research results, so as to determine the purpose of Chinese financial activities in Africa and its implications.

Chapter 6

This is the final section of the work and it bears concluding remarks and recommendations for future engagement between China and Africa. It also entails potential topics that other researchers can engage in order to fill the gap of this research due to limitations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction and Outline

The literature review is divided into 3 sections. The first section deals with the historical engagement between China and Africa to lay the foundation for an overview of the nature of the historical engagement between China and Africa. The second part of the literature gives an overview of engagement (between China and African countries) from 1949 (formation of People's Republic of China (PRC)) to date. The final section of the literature is concerned about what other esteemed scholars have discussed about Sino-Africa relation, different school of thoughts and what this research seeks to address.

2.2 Historical Sino-Africa Relation

This section narrates historical engagement between China and Africa before the founding of the People's Republic of China. As H. E. Sun Baohong (Chinese Ambassador to Ghana) pointed out in her speech at Ashesi University, history is one of the most important factors that guide formation of international relationship and therefore, it is important to draw wisdom from history in order to understand the current engagement between China and Africa. According to Felesi, China's engagement with Africa can be traced back to time not less remote than first migrants moved from Malaysia to Madagascar (Felesi, 1972). From second to third century AD, China has already established trading relationship with the Egypt Empire by land for trading copper, gold, camel, silk and many other exotic materials (Felesi, 1972). This long relationship is further affirmed by Chinese scholar Dr.

Zhang Zhongxiang, Senior Research Fellow and the Deputy Director of the Department of West Asian and African Studies, Shanghai Institute for International Studies in a published paper *Study of Contemporary Sino-Africa Relationship*, he states that “China and Africa have a long flowing relationship over 2000 years” (Zhang, 2011). Even though the historical engagement between China and Africa has disappeared in the course of history, the impacts of the Chinese still reflects in historical literature like that of *China and Africa in the Middle Ages* by Felesi. When China started exploring the rest of the world with its fleets, it fostered good relationship with many kingdoms of that era around the Middle East and eastern part of Africa (Felesi, 1972). Pelliot consider it is possible that China reached Egypt in the Han Dynasty by the overland route, and reached a city “Wu-Chi San” mentioned in the Wei Lüe or Wei Lio (a chronicle of state of Wei, one of the three kingdoms dated AD 239 to 265). Since China’s Confucius view emphasize on drawing wisdom from history, historical engagement is most likely to be cited in official speech such as the one President Xi delivered at Julius Nyerere Center in Tanzania.

During the Ming dynasty, Admiral Zheng He sailed his fleet to the coast of Eastern Africa with the aim of facilitating peaceful diplomatic and trade relationship with foreign countries (Menzies, 2002). This was the prelude of the 600 years of China-Africa formal relation. Emperor Zhu Di of Ming dynasty launched seven voyages led by Admiral Zheng He to explore the Middle East and Eastern Africa, with over 400 fleets, accompanied by water supply ship, warships with canons and patrol ships which accommodated over 28,000 people. The Chinese armada never sought to establish colonial rule over these territory by military force but rather to form a cordial and mutual relationship with the indigene (Yang,

2014).

There were several achievements made by this expansive voyage; the Chinese Emperor Zhu Di displayed the military power of Ming Dynasty, found new partners to trade spices, exotic wood and local medicine, and a facilitated a new world order guided by peace and harmony (Yang, 2014). A “Pax Sinica”³ was maintained across few decades of the sail. The fact that China did not impose any colonial rule but peaceful co-existence with the locals oversea during Ming era is one of the key argument put forward by scholars such as Dr. Zhang, Li Anshan, Felesi among others. The argument that China did not form any colonial territory oversea at that time, try to colonize Africa in contemporary times becomes difficult to sustain.

2.3 Contemporary Sino-Africa Relation

After independence in 1949, China and Africa had very little interaction. This can be largely due to the political and economic realities at the time: China only engaged with Africa to counter Soviet Expansion after the Sino-Soviet split (Harris, 1985) and China was simply not in wealthy position to offer aid (Ojha, Chinese Foreign Policy in an Age of Transition: The Diplomacy of Cultural Despair, 1969). As China began to grow from a regional power to a global power, her level of engagement also increased as China’s political and economic power became ascendant (Baah & Jauch, 2009). According to research conducted by Baah & Jauch, most African countries were struggling for independence within that period and People’s Republic of China (PRC) supported many of these

³Latin for “Chinese Peace”, historical term used to describe peace maintained by Chinese Hegemony in Qin, Han, Sui, Tang and Ming Dynasties.

movements. He also argued that China was trying to compete with both West and Soviet Union for influence in Africa (Baah & Jauch, 2009). There was a need for China to engage with Africa to fight against imperialism of that era. The milestone of contemporary engagement between China and Africa happened at the Bandung conference in April 1955. The conference marked the initiation of a policy of Chinese Communist co-operation with the state of Afro-Asia (Ismael, 1971). The core principles of the conference were political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non- aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and equality (United States Department of State, 1955). China's original appeal to Africa following the Bandung Conference, was based upon anti-imperialism attitude and on China's position as a model of development for the Third World. The ideological appeal of Maoism, the effects of propaganda, trade and aid gave China stature among the Afro-Asia states (Ismael, 1971).

It was within this time horizon that China developed its foreign policy framework, which made its aid different from the Western aid. The primary reason was China's "non-interference in internal affairs" which arguably worked for better or for worse for the development of Africa. This non-interference in internal affairs principle was first introduced by Premier Zhou Enlai (1949-1976) during a state visit to Ghana in January 1964 (Zhou, 1964). Zhou outlined the Chinese Government's eight principles for economic aid and technical assistance to other countries. These principles are:

1. "The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual".

2. "In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges".
3. "China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible".
4. "In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development".
5. "The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital".
6. "The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replaces them".
7. "In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique".
8. "The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient country will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy special amenities" (Zhou, 1964).

Even though there are minor changes to the eight principles, principles such of non-interference, equality and mutual benefit is still core.

Following the Premier's visit to Africa, China approved loans of \$ 500 million (at prevalent exchange rate) to build the Tanara Railway from 1970-1975, which serves as a breakthrough for Sino-Africa relation. The railway connects Dar es Salaam on Tanzania's coast with Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia. The railway was the product of China's breakthrough into Africa prior to the much more recent reemergence and intensification of Sino-African relation. Chairman Mao told Nyerere during his visit in 1965 that "you have difficulties as do we, but our difficulties are different. To help you build the railway, we are willing to forsake building railway for ourselves" (Altorfer-Ong, 2003). It was at this stage China really needed support from Third World against both US and Soviet Union (Altorfer-Ong, 2003) because China needed to be absorbed as a member of the United Nations (UN). Jamie Monson's book *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania* gives a brief account from both Chinese and African perspectives on how the railway benefited the lives of individuals.

Formation of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 advanced Sino-Africa relation to the next level. FOCAC is in full support of South-South Co-operation⁴. By institutionalized dialogue between ministers from different nations (in Africa), FOCAC is recognized as the communication bridge to voice out concerns between partners. More than 80 ministers from China, 44 African countries and representatives of 17 regional and international organizations met to support "the development of a new, stable and long-term

⁴ In 1978, the United Nations established the Unit for South-South Cooperation to promote South-South trade and collaboration within its agencies. It is a term to describe the exchange of resources, technology and knowledge between developing countries, also known as Global South (United Nations Development Program, 2016).

partnership and cooperation in both economic and social sphere, equally and mutually beneficial for China and African countries” (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation , 2009). FOCAC is also a dynamic body that recognizes the shift in the needs of African countries (Appendix I provide detail documentation of Chinese pledge in the FOCAC 2006 ministerial meeting). In 2009, the new 8 principles (see Appendix II) added climate change, environmental monitoring, and further reduction in taxes from Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)s from Africa and increment in people-to-people engagement. Statistics show that the trade flow and FDI going from China to Africa has increased by almost 800% only between 2002 and 2004 (Baah & Jauch, 2009) (Brautigam, 2009).

From the discussion above, contemporary Sino-Africa relationship can be summarized into four stages (Zhang, 2015). Initially security was most important in the 1950s when China was in dire need for international support after independence. There are many academic work on China’s foreign policy during the 1960s. Among them are (Ojha, 1969), (Lawrance, 1975), and (Snow, 1989). All the work mentioned above aside Snow (1989) is interested in China’s general foreign policy and not with the African relations specifically. Most of the work also uses the context of the Cold War lens “communism v. democracy”, as well as Sino-Soviet disputes (Prybyla, 1964). Most of these academic work lay the foundation as to how China formed it’s “no strings attached” policy regarding aid. In the 1970s, political interest shifted to concern for support in organizations like United Nations, and after the Economic reform in the 1980s by President Deng Xiaoping, economic interest was top priority. During this era, China focused more on internal growth and its relationship

with Africa was not as vibrant as it was. However, it is important to note that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment loans throughout the 1980s and 1990s created a more difficult climate for African politicians to get loans. China's ability to negotiate quick transactions and deliver on development projects without interfering internal politics made it a popular choice (Mahoney, 2010). In the 21st century, China emphasized on both political and economic collaboration with Africa for long-term strategic partnership and relationship ties (Zhang, 2015). African scholars, Anthony Yaw Baah and Herbert Jauch, further confirmed these four stages of development. From their point of view, the Chinese government offered African government an alternative to the "Washington Consensus"⁵ and was known as the "Beijing Consensus"⁶ (Baah & Jauch, 2009). Beijing Consensus aimed to offer less strings-attached and more pragmatic approaches of solving poverty compared to the dogmatic 10 "commandments" of the Washington Consensus. Instead of the neoliberalism and free market theory, Chinese Government focused on solving multifarious problems with flexible approaches thereby providing African leaders an alternative.

2.4 Sino-Africa Engagement

The third section of literature review draws insights from contemporary literature on Sino-Africa relations and identifies the nature of the engagement. Not much attention was paid in academia on Sino-Africa relationship development before the 1990s (Li, 2014). Jan

⁵Washington Consensus is the set of 10 policies that the US government and the international financial institutions based in the US capital believed were necessary elements of "first stage policy reform" that all countries should adopt to increase economic growth. (Williamson, 2015)

⁶ Beijing Consensus uses China as an alternative model for development in the Third World, it focuses on pragmatic practices and peaceful rise, which serves as an alternative model to the Western dominated development priorities. (Turin, 2010)

Duyvendak, Teobaldo Files, Bruce Larkin and Alaba Ogunsanwo are some of the know scholars to study Sino-Africa relationship. Most of the scholars of this era present the view that China is still a medium sized economy and does not deserve much attention since it is a regional power and therefore its contribution to international policy is insignificant. For the scholars of this era even as China transform from a regional power to a global power, foreign policy concerning Africa will be its least concern (Segal, 1992; Segal, 1999).

After the initiation of FOCAC in 2000 and joined World Trade Organization in 2001, much more attention was paid to China's foreign policy concerning Africa. Two authors are well known and respected for their study of Sino-Africa relation of this era: Deborah Brautigam and Chris Alden. Alden's *China in Africa* and Brautigam's *The Dragon's Gift* present a wide angle of Chinese activities in Africa, citing different examples from a variety of different African countries. Alden's general observation of Chinese interest in Africa briefly touches on actors such as large Multinationals Corporations (MNCs), parastatals and individual entrepreneurs and provides an interesting opinion of Western views on Sino-Africa relations. However, his broad generalization does not provide audience an in-depth knowledge about Sino-Africa relations. Brautigam's *The Dragon's Gift* was written more recently in the context of heated debate in the media and Western government regarding African relations. She shone more light on historical formation of Chinese financial aid in Africa. She explained the mechanism by which China dispatches its loan to Africa and the bureaucratic work behind the scenes using examples of South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Mauritius and Zimbabwe to demonstrate her argument. However, she did not show the incentives and interests of African nations in its relationship with China rather, she wrote an

excellent historical account of Chinese aid patterns in Africa.

There is a large amount of literature regarding Sino-Africa relations by esteemed scholars and most of these can be categorized into two polarized views. This dilemma is well captured by Yun that China's activities are either "evil" because they present China's selfish quest for natural resources and damage Africa's fragile efforts to improve governance and build a sustainable future; or they are "virtuous" because they contribute to a foundation for long-term economic development, through infrastructure projects and revenue creation (Yun, 2014).

One dominated by Western media like *Economist*, *Times* and some African officials like Lamido Sanusi, Nigeria's former central bank governor who argues that Africa is opening for "new form of imperialism" in which China takes primary goods from Africa and sells it back without transferring knowledge (The Economist, 2015). There are three theories that tend to explain China's interest in Africa based on this polarized view, namely: "Expansionism", "Resource Exploitation" and "Neo-colonialism" (Li, 2014). Some western media and African officials have the notion that China's investment and other output is not helping Africa but serves rather as source of bargaining power to exploit natural resource in fueling its industrialization. On the contrary, another view dominated by Chinese scholars and many African scholars is that Sino-Africa relationship is mutually beneficial especially helping Africa to overcome poverty and improve living standards of many. In addition, in terms of aid, increasing donor competition allows developing countries the opportunity to "shop around" for the types of development package that best suits their interest (Dreher, Fuchs, & Nunnenkamp, 2013). In a case study conducted by Mahoney, the researcher found

that because huge Chinese financial backings, Western bodies do not have the same ability as before to enforce political conditionalities. China has given (African) government the ability to bargain with Western donor organizations. She further gives the example that IMF agreed to give a \$4 billion loan even though Kenya did not comply with all of its stipulations (Mahoney, 2010).

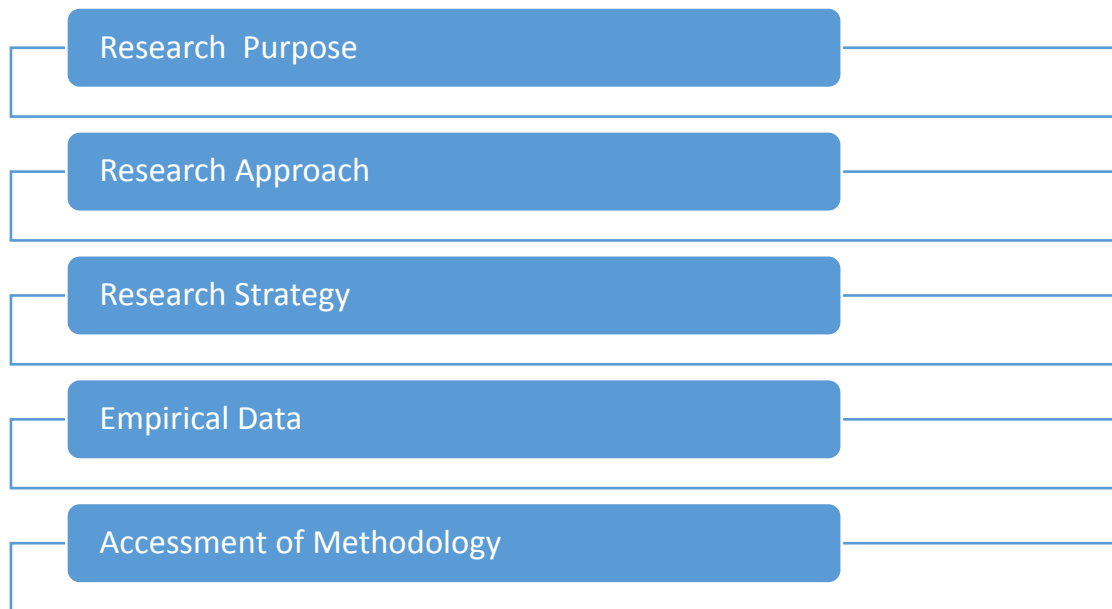
Looking at the plurality of this bilateral relationship, Western influence, globalization, claim of neo-colonialism and many other dynamic factors. We need to find the answer to these key questions: Where is this wave of Chinese aid leading Africa (Menzies, 2002)? Will it solve the prolonged problem of poverty and under-development in Africa? Is this a collaboration or form of domination? This paper will use method of triangulating data to find out the amount of aid and its impact on Africa and determine the nature of Sino-Africa relation.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section will explain and argue for the research methodology used in order to answer the research question of the project. This includes data collection instruments such as internet research, interviews, observations as well as sampling procedures and statistical techniques that translate data into information in explaining how research questions are solved (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, it will describe the methodological approach, the research strategy, employed empirical data and sources used to answer the research question.

3.2 Framework of Methodology



3.3 Research Purpose

The purpose of conducting research is either to explore a new topic, describe a social phenomenon or explain a cause and effect. Most studies are combination of two of the above mentioned or more (Neuman, 2011). In light of this, Saunders et al have classified the purpose of undertaking a research in three types- exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). Each type of the purpose mentioned above specifies a particular objective and format of collecting data. However, according to Saunders et al., the distinction among the various types of research are not absolute, hence researcher's study may include the use of more than one technique (Saunders, et al, 2009).

On the light of this research questions, the researcher will consider – exploratory research purposes

Exploratory Research

The purpose of exploratory research is to gain fresh insight into a phenomenon, situation or an event to satisfy one's curiosity, identify variables and provide possibly hypothesis that leads to further research (Saunders et al, 2009). This type of research is often used when the researcher does not have a clear understanding of the particular problem encountered during research. This allows the researcher to come up with a clearer and more meaningful theory that may improve the current research design. Exploratory research allows easy flow of information and enable researcher to gather more data and provide special angles to analyze.

3.4 Research Methods

Research methods refer to the forms and how data are collected – qualitative and quantitative data. The research conducted is an interpretivist type of analysis and the primary purpose is to provide a picture of operations of Chinese government in Africa and the impact of these investments. The interpretivist approach looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social world (Hughes, 2016). Interpretivist approach also relies heavily on observation and analysis of existing documents (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2016). I will actively seek to use existing theories as well as the concrete information collected to make my arguments about the impacts of these investments. The way in which I wish to approach the research issue is by triangulating multiple sources of data (Yin, 2004). The triangulation strategy model uses separate quantitative and qualitative methods to balance the weaknesses inherent in one method with the strengths of the other

method, as to confirm and cross validate the findings within a single study (Yin, 2004).

3.5 Empirical Data

For this thesis, both secondary and tertiary data and mostly quantitative data was collected. The secondary data was in the form of case study, project reports as well as sources from a wide range of contributors such as governments, international organizations and independent academics. Some of this secondary data were quantitative and some qualitative, thereby conducting a mixed method approach. The secondary data is the core source of my research data accessed through databases (Ashesi Library, JStor, Emerald, Google Scholar, and Baidu Scholar), articles (Times, Xinhua News, CNN) and other relevant sources. The purpose of using many sources of data is to allow research view a particular point of research from more than one perspective, and hence enrich knowledge and test validity. Tertiary data will be in the form of indexes, encyclopedias, citation indexes etc. As previously described, I have chosen to focus on certain aspects of the investment/aid⁷ of Chinese government on the African continent (education, basic infrastructure). I find this choice appropriate for answering the research question.

CHAPTER FOUR: CHINESE INVESTMENT IN AFRICA

This section seeks to clarify the definition of aid/investment given by China to Africa

⁷ As mentioned in the previous sections, the Chinese government's policy makes it difficult to distinguish clearly between investment and aid. This paper concentrates more on aid like investment and aid itself.

and offers a more in-depth clarification about the classification of aid/investment, as well as procedures in gathering quantitative data to analyze Sino-Africa relation in order to answer the question (collaboration or domination) in subsequent chapters.

4.1 Investment/Aid Flow to Africa (From China)

Foreign aid was an important political tool that China used to gain recognition by Africa (Zhang, 2015). Premier Zhou Enlai visited 10 African countries between 1963 and 1964 and announced the Eight Principles of Foreign Economic and Technical Assistance (Zhou, 1964). These principles were designed to compete with the US and Soviet Union for Africa's approval and support (Yun, 2014). By providing ¥ 980 million zero-interest loan to support the Tanzara Railway, China's generous assistance aid had opened door to diplomatic recognition with 44 African countries by mid 1980s.

Since the formation of FOCAC, Africa has become increasingly important economic partner to China. Africa has rich natural resources and market potential, and is in urgent need for infrastructure as well as developmental finance presents an excellent opportunity to China. Using the famous "Angola Model"⁸, it is a framework signed by China Exim Bank and Angola's Ministry Finance in 2004 under what is known as "framework agreement". China Exim Bank agreed to provide \$ 2 billion loan to Angola with London Interbank Offered Rate (LIBOR) + 1.5% with a grace period of 5 years and amortization period of 17 years. In the agreement, Angola would place 10000 barrels of crude oil on an escrow account at the Exim Bank (Lin & Wang, 2016). The loan was used to finance 107 infrastructure

⁸ Angola Model refers to China's financial package delivered to the recipient country with resource backed (in Angola's case, crude oil) as a collateral to obtain those financial packages.

projects. Hence, Angola model is characterized by China provides low-interest or concessional loans to nations who rely on commodities, such as mineral resources, as collateral. The recipient country of loan usually suffers from low credit ratings hence difficult to obtain loan from international market. China's combination package aims not only benefiting the local recipient, but also China itself.

4.2 Confusion Investment/Aid Figures

However, it is key to note that China is not a developed country and does not follow OECD standard to report its aid in ODC or the broader ODF definition (EXIM Bank, 2006). The Chinese government does not release detailed, project-level financial information about its aid activities (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014). Even though yearbooks of the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) report on "comprehensive projects completed" by the recipient country between 1990 and 2005, but they do not identify the financial value of these projects. Moreover, the World Food Program's Aid Information System (FAIS) and United Nation's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) Financial Tracking Service report on China's food aid and humanitarian aid flow, but these flows constitute only a small fraction of the Chinese development finance and does not provide a holistic view.

Due to the inadequate data, scholars cannot account for China's development activities in quantitative studies of the allocation, effectiveness and side effects of this aid. Since China has emerged as the most important non-Western source of development finance, this omission could result in inaccurate research results (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014). There is no consensus as to how to classify many Chinese financial

instrument that lack OECD counterparts such as resource backed loan (Angola Model). The Chinese package means developmental finance that mix aid and investment, and/or concessional and non-concessional financing (Sven, Rank, McDonald, & Schickerling, 2011). In addition, there may be substantial discrepancies between Western and Chinese consideration of the cost of aid from donor countries. Western aid budgets include administrative costs, which might inflate statistics on aid flow since substantial chunks of aid are used in administrative costs rather than directly on the projects (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014). For example, cost of conducting environmental impact studies, travelling cost, cost of hiring experts are all accounted as part of the aid in Western standard. These costs are not included in China's aid package to the recipient country.

The difficulties to assign Chinese development finance with DAC categories are further complicated by the fact that many transactions are bundles of several financing mechanism. Brautigam suggested that a relatively small amount of the finance is given as ODA to Africa, only around \$ 1.4 billion in 2007; the majority comes as Other Official Flows (OOF) (Brautigam, 2009). OOF is categorized as transactions by the official sector with countries that do not meet the conditions for eligibility as Official Development Finance (ODF), either because they are not primarily aimed at development, or because they have a grant element of less than 25% (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016). In the year 2007, a study conducted by the Congressional Research and NYU Wagner School categorized many types of investing activities as "aid and related activities". The study concluded that China provided \$ 18 billion (to Africa) in aid (Thomas, Fischer, Gomez-Granger, & Leland, 2009). The wide-ranging estimate \$ 0.58 billion to \$ 18 billion in annual

aid to Africa exhibit how inaccurate data can affect the studies. Table 1 shows a range of estimate financial flows (to Africa) by some well esteemed authors.

Based on these realities this thesis will categorize Chinese aid/investment based on studies conducted by Austin et al. and AidData. Chinese aid/investment and other financial activities is categorized into the following, namely:

ODA-like, OOF-like, Official Investment, Joint Venture with Chinese state involvement, Joint Venture without Chinese State involvement, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) with Chinese state involvement, FDI without Chinese state involvement, Non-governmental Organization (NGO) aid, Corporate Aid from state-owned enterprises and Corporate Aid from private enterprises. Table 2 summarizes the categorization of aid/investment (from China) to Africa.

All projects in the database can be classified according to the perceived intent of finance provider. There intents include but are not limited to:

development in the recipient country (developmental), commercial interest in the donor country (commercial), the representational interest of the donor country or a donor-recipient relationship (representational), or a combination of two or more donor motivations (mixed).

4.3 Problems Encountered by Previous Studies

Previous efforts to gather China's aid data have encountered primarily four challenges. First, previous data collection initiatives did not carefully "follow the money" from the initial announcement to the implementation stage, thus although many projects are canceled, mothballed, or scaled back after the announcement is made; they are over-counted as multiple entries (Brautigam, 2009). Therefore, a closer follow up on the projects mitigate

the risk of double-counting projects or counting “ghost projects”⁹. Second, insufficient attention to double counting single project by multiple media reports over multiple years also inflate (Chinese) aid figure (Sven, Rank, McDonald, & Schickerling, 2011). Thirdly, lack of transparency in research methods has hindered researchers attempt to improve upon the research on impacts of Chinese development finance. Disclosing research methods allow researchers to identify potential errors and procedural flaws, hence, improving accuracy of data obtained by sinologists. Finally, avoiding sole sourcing information in the data collection process. Researchers must be mindful of the triangulating strategy, which is a powerful technique that facilitates validation of data through cross verification from two or more sources. In particular, it refers to the application and combination of several research methods in the study of the same phenomenon (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

In recent times, the literature on Sino-Africa relations has filled with concerns that China’s economic incursion into Africa is simply a replication of the colonial and post-colonial economic paradigm. In this paradigm, economic production, distribution and consumption processes in Africa are marginal, dependent and interlocked with that of the colonial power (Amoah, 2011). However, the findings of this paper have proved the plurality and multidimensional side of this question. Further analysis has demonstrated the far more sophisticated nature of China’s engagement with Africa.

⁹ Projects that are cancelled mothballed or scaled back after the inception of idea.

5.1 Findings from Historical Studies

China's engagement with Africa has roots dating back to 14th century when Admiral Zheng He who sailed his fleet to the east coast of Africa¹⁰. Even though China was militarily, economically and technologically more advance than Africa at the time, China did not have the intention to colonize any African nation. It is worth quoting Felasi (1974:13) here:

China's peaceful ventures into the exotic world of Africa-a remarkable episode in the history of civilization-were the product of national propensities, of commercial interests, of technical ability and of the nautical knowledge acquired by the Chinese.

Given the Chinese nation's multi-ethnic nature, all Chinese religions naturally took harmony and peace as their cherished values. Moreover, China was well known for its rites and etiquettes, and most religions in China stressed ethical cultivation (Ye, 2001). In this light, the message encoded in Zheng He's voyage can be interpreted as China was very powerful and powerful enough to establish a "Pax Sinica" world-view based on mutual respect and peace.

Besides, the core principle of peaceful co-existence and Confucian nature of the Chinese governs Chinese foreign policy and motivates it to be a friendly one. It must not be forgotten that China itself was entrenched in anti-imperialist struggle that impeded development for almost a century. China understands the pain of colonialism and holds Golden Rule or ethic of reciprocity dear.

Therefore, from a historical point of view, it is hard to find any evidence or trend that

¹⁰ There are disputes in when China first visited Africa, Zheng He's visit are agreed universally and hence are used as the first engagement with Africa.

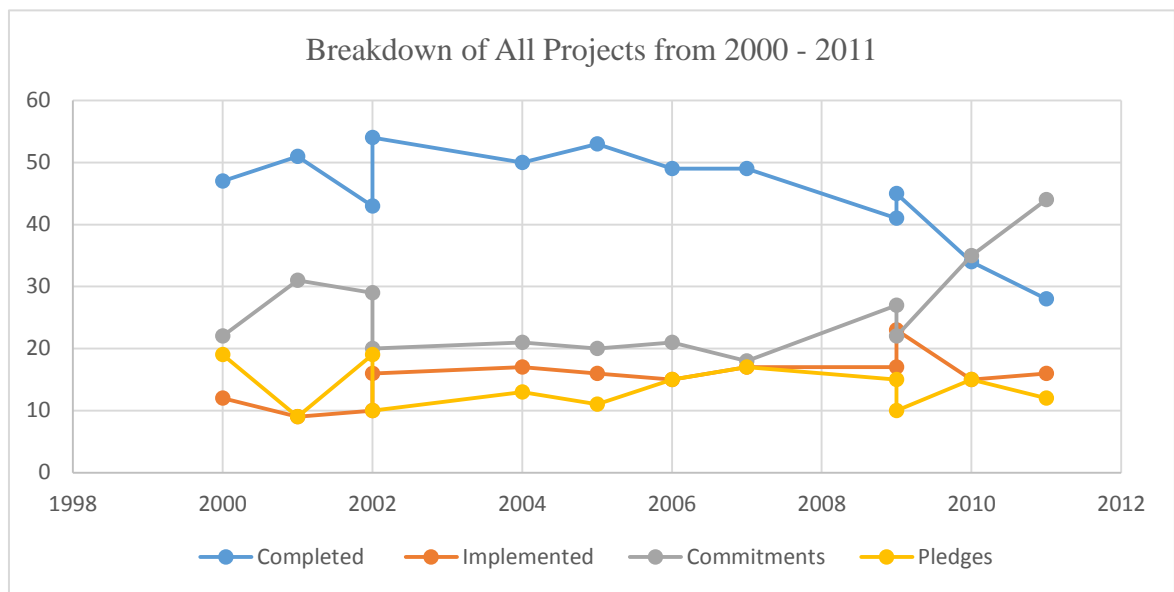
can explain China's intention to colonize Africa or establish a neo-colonial state on the African continent. The mere facts of exploration of natural resources through confined laws (of the country) and international laws, few incidents of poor labor treatment and given aid/investment to countries with dubious governance do not contribute to colonialism by any definition. Instead, another theory or phenomenon surfaced from the water; a more logical explanation to the increasing wave of criticism on China's engagement with Africa is pointing at globalization tied to a combat for influence between the West and the Orient in the form of media warfare.

Thus, the researcher is more inclined with South Africa president Jacob Zuma's view on Sino-Africa relation, as he said to his counterpart, Hu Jintao (President of China) at the fifth FOCAC meeting in Beijing, "Africa's past experience with Europe dictates a need to be cautious when entering into partnerships with other economies..." Zuma (2014) "We are certainly convinced that China's intention is different to that of Europe, which to date continues to attempt to influence African countries for their sole benefit." He highlighted that the African leaders are "particularly pleased" that their relationship with China is one of "equals," that agreements are for "mutual gain (Zuma, 2014)." With confirmation of mutually beneficial Sino-Africa relation from a prominent leader on the continent, it is obvious that colonialism was, is and will always be associated with the West.

5.2 Findings from Aid/Investment

The Chinese official finance includes 1751 non-investment projects in 50 recipient countries over 2000 – 2011 period. Figure 2 below shows a breakdown of all projects based on status of completion.

Figures 2 Breakdown of All Projects from 2000 - 2011



Source: (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014)

According to the research, most of the projects are considered done. Pledges only constitute less than 20% during the observation period, ranging from 9% (least) in 2001 to 19% (highest) in 2000. On average, there are 100 projects carried out each year which differs significantly in amount and location. The information also indicate that number of projects and valuet of projects are highly correlated (0.82), and inform a steady increasing trend in both amount and number of projects over time. From about 50 projects worth \$ 2.5 billion to 160 projects at \$ 11 billion (see Figure 3). Both factors have tripled within the study period.

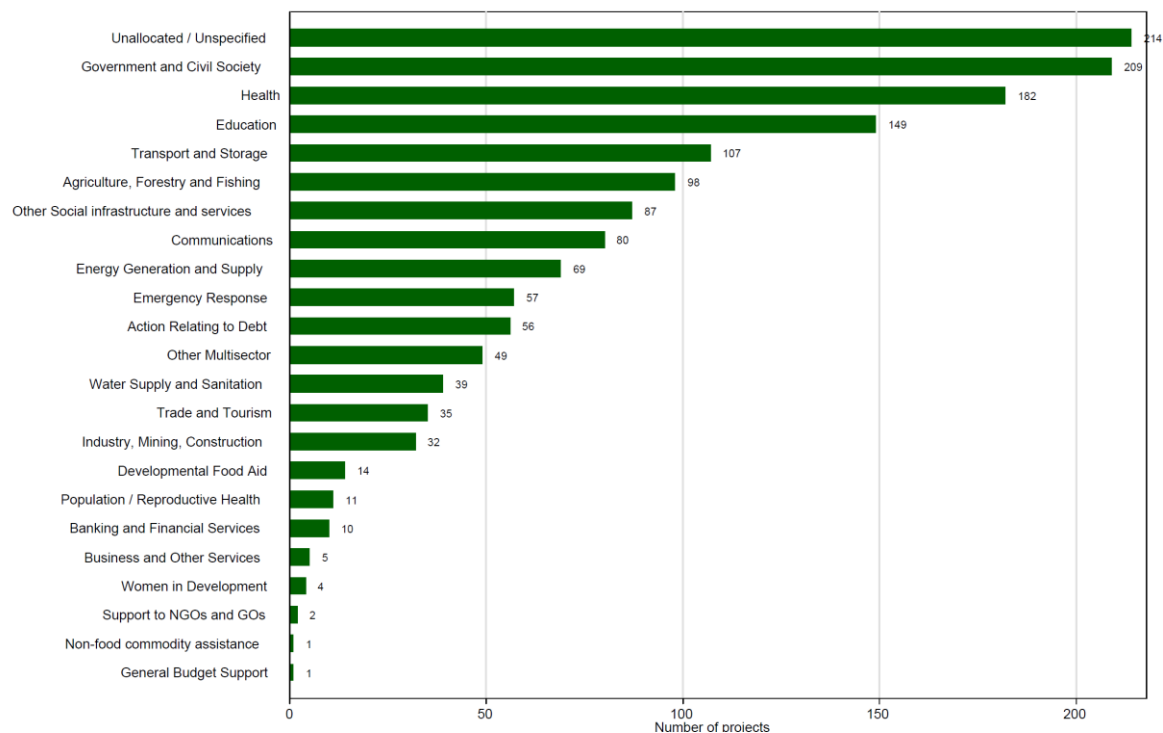
Figures 3 Chinese official finance reported over time from 2000 - 2011



Source: (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014)

Data gathered indicates that Government and Civil Society sector received the highest attention based on number of projects (see Figure 4.1), with 209 projects undertaken worth \$ 1718 million. It is not surprising that China is so active in this sector, whereas DAC members activities in this sector include supporting anti-corruption campaign, a wide variety of good governance initiatives, China supported construction of office space for government administration and presidential residence. Health (182 projects), Education (149), Transport and Storage (107) are also highly ranked based on number of projects. This observation echoes with China's African Policy Document, which indicates that political, economic, education, science, culture and health (all-round cooperation) collaboration will be key in the future bilateral relation (See Appendix III).

Figures 4.1 Number of Chinese Projects by sectors from 2000 - 2011



Source: AidData

Looking at monetary component (see Figure 4.2), transport and storage, energy generation and communication top the chart. This pattern is observed and confirmed by many well esteemed scholars (Amoah, 2011; Baah & Jauch, 2009; Strange et al, 2014) that most of Chinese aid/investment go into infrastructure related projects such as building roads, bridges, hydro dams, power plants, telecommunication network, government structures, hospital etc. These projects provide unique leverage for government which can initiate and support long run welfare improvement and economic productivity. In this light, Justin Lin Yifu provided very insightful knowledge about how to lift developing nations out of poverty:

For a country to climb up the industrial ladder, a host of other changes also need to take place: technologies become more complicated, capital requirements increase, the scale of production increase the size of market increase, and market exchanges increasingly take place at arm's length.

A flexible and smooth industrial and technology upgrading therefore requires simultaneous improvements in education, financial and legal institutions, and infrastructure... it falls to government to introduce such changes (Lin & Ha-Joon , 2009).

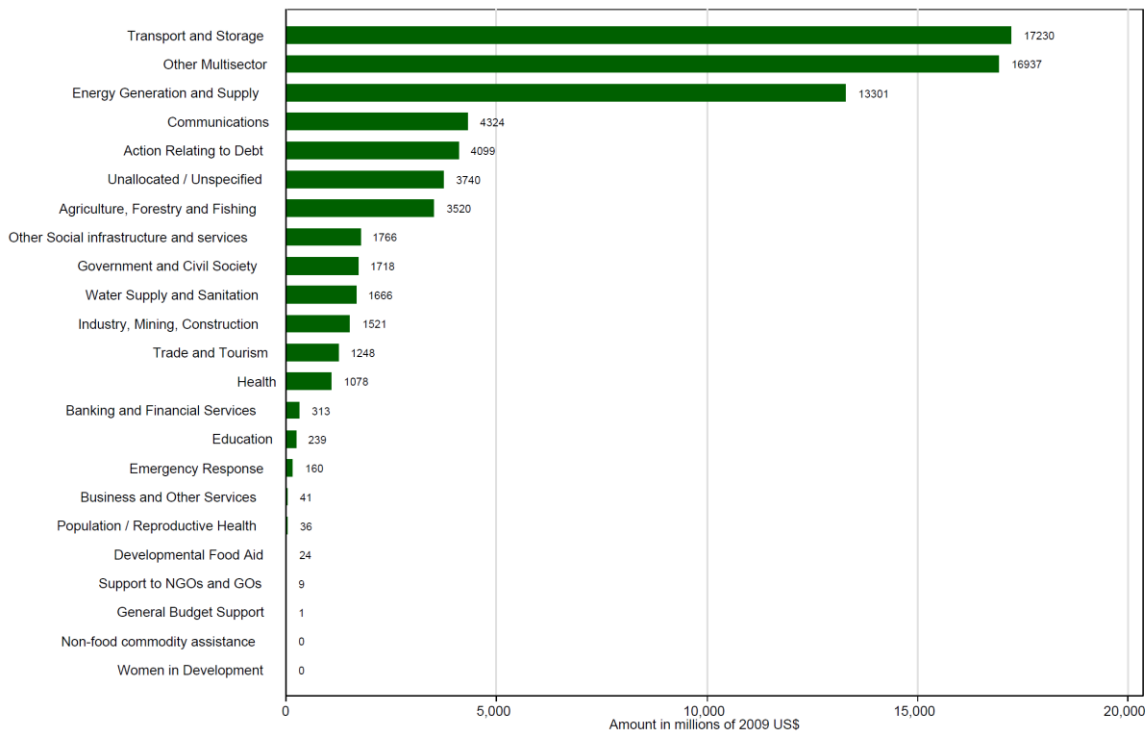
China provides what is known as Resource Financed Infrastructure (RFI) to many Africa nations, where part of the loan is paid with commodity such as cocoa, crude oil, copper ore in order to obtain the necessary infrastructural support in area of education, health, energy among others. Halland et al.(2014, p.13) concluded:

The RFI model is a financing model whereby government pledges its future revenues from a resource development projects to repay a loan used to fund construction of infrastructure. The key advantage of the model is that a government can obtain infrastructure earlier than it would have been able to if it had to wait for a resource project to produce revenues.

It can therefore be summarized that the key advantage of RFI is for the host country and its citizens to enjoy substantial benefit from the infrastructural projects ahead of what would have been possible under any other model. By transforming what the country has to what the country can potentially do well, the Angola model is a key driver of growth-lifting strategy (Lin & Wang, 2016). Bai (2006) observed that over the period of 1983-1992, the average rate of return for the World Bank projects on electricity was 11% and 29% for road buildings, this confirms the view that investing in infrastructure could lead to high rate of returns. This unique model of financing echoes with Justin Lin Yifu's poverty lifting model,

therefore, the findings partially answers research question on nature of engagement and point to a healthy relation between China and Africa.

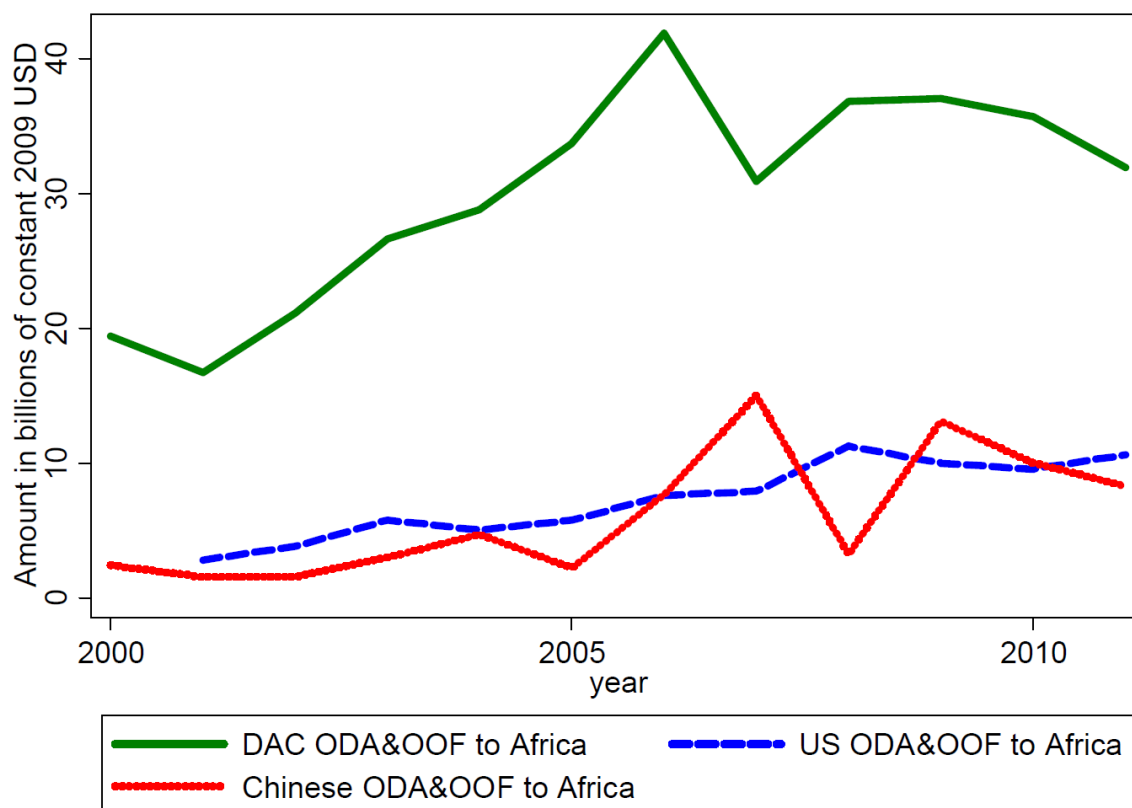
Figures 4.2 Monetary amount of Chinese official finance by sectors



Source: AidData

Since Western donors also plays an important role in the aid sector, the research also compare annual flow of Chinese aid to that of the United States and the entire OECD-DAC. Figure 5 below shows that China’s amount of aid was comparable to that of US in the early 2000. In 2007, China provided almost double the aid US was giving. The graph also shows an increasing trend by all donors. In addition, over the entire study period, China committed \$ 73 billion in official flows to Africa, which is more than 20% of the entire OECD-DAC flow (\$ 361 billion) and almost equal to the contribution by the US (\$83 billion).

Figures 5 Chinese, OECD-DAC, and US Official flows over time from 2000 - 2011



As shown in the figure 4.1 and 4.2 majority of Chinese aid flow to health, government and civil society, education, agriculture and transport and storage sectors. This observation draws a clear distinction from DAC donors whereas nearly 50% of Western funding goes into social and humanitarian sectors (OECD, 2012). China's distinctive approach differentiates itself from the OECD definition of aid, which is more rigid, and condition attached.

With the addition of 214 unclassified projects show in figure 4.1, China is in fact, one of the most important donors providing infrastructural aid to African countries. These findings in some degree support the notion that China offered an alternative source of aid/investment to African countries. From the financial development point of view, China shows no level of domination.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

On the quest to answer my research question - What is the nature of the contemporary relationship between China and Africa? Is it domination or collaboration? I have explored both how history has influenced contemporary Sino-Africa relation and the nature of aid/investment flow to Africa. On the sub questions:

1. How can China's presence in Africa be explained theoretically?

The research shows that history has significantly influenced the construct of this bilateral relation. With China's need for resources and international support and Africa's dire need for infrastructure support, it is of mutual interest for both Africa and China to form an all-round (culture, education, science and health) strategic partnership. Therefore, this finding lean the relation towards collaboration.

2. In what sense are we talking about collaboration or domination?

The research shows that there was no evidence of domination in the historical context; China's historical engagement with Africa was to form "Pax Sinica", a world order based on equality and mutual respect. Furthermore, contemporary engagement does not show any concrete, demonstrable evidence of domination portrayed in the form of neo-colonialism, rather, China has adopted an aggressive but yet distinctive strategy to integrate with African countries (Liang, 2012). The bilateral relation has evolved into pragmatic collaboration

exhibited in novel forms of international finance and economic relations in the form of Resource Backed Loans (RBL) and Resource Financed Infrastructural Support (RFIS). The Economist found that in the first decade of the new century, six of the world's ten fastest growing countries were located in Sub-Sahara region (The Economist, 2014). China has contributed considerably to Africa's Gross Domestic Production (GDP) growth. Also, exponential increment in volume of trade also indicate the interdependency relation of these two parties, China has found a market for its goods and Africa consumer can in return, receive varieties of commodities at a lower price (even though this has consequences for Africa's industrial potential).

3. What explains China's aid/investment to Africa?

China's aid/investment can be explained as a manifestation of its soft power. Economic reform and joining the WTO has upgraded China from a regional power to a global power. As China continues to grow economically, this quest requires it to improve its soft power in order to create a conducive environment for growth (Liang, 2012). China needs to collaborate and form strategic ties with Africa in order to improve its soft power and create a conducive environment for its reemergence.

In conclusion, Sino-Africa relations exhibit multidimensionality. It does not only include trade, development finance, historical engagement and soft power, but also media warfare, globalization and battle between the West and the Orient. The complexity of this relation therefore cannot simply be defined as collaboration or domination, but rather a phenomenon of globalization and ideological hegemony.

6.2 Recommendations

China's intention in Africa is definitely not a humanitarian mission given that China has its own needs. China has revealed its intentions in Africa through the China African Policy Paper (see Appendix III) and FOCAC. Institutionalized ministerial meetings and clear policy regarding its future relationship with Africa, China has absolute strategic advantage. Aside from South Africa, which has laid down an institutionalized bi-ministerial meeting system with China, other Africa countries are slacking. Therefore, to address this strategic deficit, it will take visionary African leadership to be counted upon to respond adequately at the policy level to the Chinese. While China can maintain its pace of growth and is seemingly willing to enter strategic partnerships with African nations, the time left for African leaders is limited. I recommend each African country to lay out a blue print about its national development and see how China can fit into this plan.

6.3 Limitations

The major limitations of the study were:

- The research's inability to obtain primary data. Secondary data and tertiary data were used extensively in this research paper; therefore, any limitation faced by the secondary data will be present in this research.
- Information retrieved from database could be biased based on the nationality and their subjective view, this could mislead this research and cause inaccuracy and biased conclusions.
- The data are collected within a period of three months, analyzed and presented.

Due to this time constrain, several sectors regarding to Sino-Africa relation may not be touched.

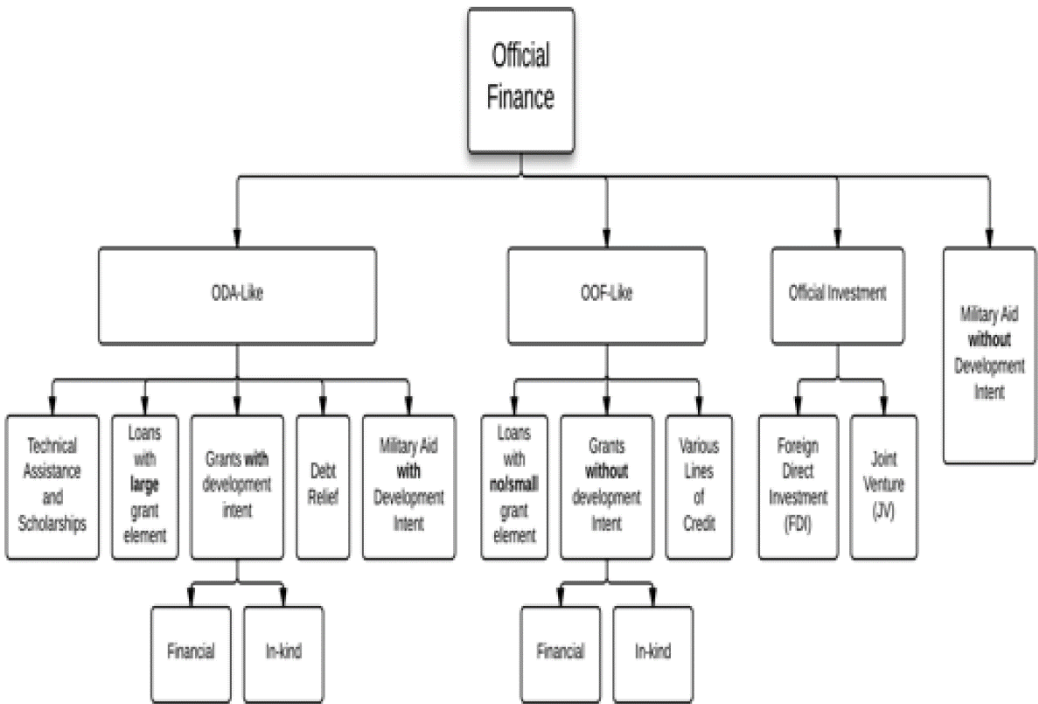
Tables

Table 1 Estimation of Financial Flows to Africa (from China)

Source	Year	Amount per year	Flow type
Bräutigam (2011a)	2007	US\$ 1.4B	ODA
Wang (2007)	2004-2005	US\$ 1-1.5B	ODA
The Economist (2004)	2002	US\$ 1.8B	ODA
Lum et al. (2009)	2007	US\$ 17.96B	Aid and related activities
Christensen (2010)	2009	US\$ 2.1B	Aid
Lancaster (2007)	2007	US\$ 582-875M	Aid
He (2006)	1956-2006	US\$ 5.7B	Aid
Kurlantzick (2006)	2004	US\$ 2.7B	Aid
Fitch Ratings (2011)	2001-2010	US\$ 67.2B	EXIM Bank loans
Alden and Alves (2009)	2006	US\$ 12-15B	EXIM Bank loans
Harman (2007)	2006	US\$ 12.5B	EXIM Bank loans
Christensen (2010)	2009	US\$ 375M	Debt relief

Source: (Strange, Parks, Tierney, Fuchs, & Dreher, 2014)

Table 2 Summary of Categories of Aid from China



Source: (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016)

Appendixes

Appendix I

The Eight-Point Plan China Pledged at the FOCAC Beijing Summit (November 2006)

1. Increase assistance to African countries, and by 2009 double the size of its assistance to African countries in 2006.
2. Provide \$3 billion in concessional loans and \$2 billion in preferential export buyer's credit to African countries in the next three years.
3. Set up the China-Africa Development Fund, the total amount of which will gradually reach \$5 billion, to give encouragement and support to Chinese companies investing in projects in Africa.
4. Help the African Union to build a convention center in order to support African countries

in their efforts to strengthen themselves through unity and speed up African integration.

5. Cancel the repayment of interest-free government loans that had become due by the end of 2005 to China by Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in Africa that have diplomatic ties with China.

6. Further open the Chinese market to Africa, expand the scope of imports from African LDCs having diplomatic ties with China entitled to zero duty treatment from 190 tariff lines to over 440 tariff lines.

7. Set up three to five overseas economic and trade cooperation zones in African countries in the next three years.

8. Train 15,000 professionals for African countries in the next three years; send 100 senior agro-technology experts to Africa; set up in Africa 10 agro-technology demonstration centers with special features; assist African countries in building 30 hospitals and provide African countries with a grant of 300 million yuan (\$46.2 million) that is used to supply anti-malaria drugs like artemisinin and build 30 centers for prevention and treatment of malaria; dispatch 300 youth volunteers to African countries; help African countries set up 100 rural schools; increase the number of Chinese government scholarships for African students from the current 2,000 per year to 4,000 per year by the end of 2008.

Source: China Government White Paper (Appendix III) accessed from http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/2011-04/21/content_22411861.htm

Appendix II

The New Eight-Point Plan China Pledged at the Fourth FOCAC Ministerial Conference

(November 2009)

1. China proposes the establishment of a China-Africa partnership in addressing climate change and the holding of senior official consultations on a non-regular basis, and strengthening of cooperation in satellite weather monitoring, development and use of new energy, prevention and control of desertification, and urban environmental protection. The Chinese government decides to assist African countries with 100 clean energy projects in the fields of solar energy, biogas and small hydropower stations.
2. To intensify cooperation in science and technology, China proposes to launch the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Plan, carry out 100 joint research demonstration projects, invite 100 African post-doctoral students to conduct scientific research in China and subsidize them when they return to their home countries to work.
3. In order to improve African countries' capacity in financing, the Chinese government will provide US\$10 billion in concessional loans to African countries. China supports the establishment by Chinese financial institutions of a special loan of \$1 billion for the development of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in Africa. The Chinese government will cancel debts of interest-free government loans that mature by the end of 2009 owed by all HIPCs and the LDCs in Africa having diplomatic relations with China.
4. China will further open its market to African countries. It will gradually give zero-tariff treatment to 95 percent of exports from the LDCs in Africa having diplomatic relations with China. As the first step, China grants zero-tariff treatment to 60 percent of the exported commodities from those countries in 2010.
5. In order to further strengthen agricultural cooperation and improve African countries'

capacity for food security, China will increase to 20 the total number of agro-technology demonstration centers built for African countries, send 50 agro-technology teams to Africa and help train 2,000 agro-technicians for African countries.

6. China will continue to deepen China-African cooperation in medical care and public health service. It will provide 500 million yuan worth of medical equipment and malaria-fighting materials to 30 hospitals and 30 malaria prevention and treatment centers, which have been built with China's assistance, and help African countries train a total of 3,000 doctors and nurses.

7. In order to further enhance cooperation in human resource development and education, China will help African countries to build 50 China-Africa friendship schools and train 1,500 school principals and teachers; increase the number of Chinese government scholarships for African students to 5,500 by 2012; and train a total of 20,000 professionals in various sectors for African countries in the next three years.

8. To enlarge people-to-people exchanges, China proposes to implement a China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Plan to strengthen cooperation and exchanges between scholars and think tanks, which will also provide intellectual support for better policy-making regarding cooperation between the two sides.

Source: China Government White Papers (Appendix V) accessed from http://www.china.org.cn/government/whitepaper/2011-04/21/content_22411894.htm

Appendix III

(January 2006)

The first few years of the new century witness a continuation of complex and profound changes in the international situation and further advance of globalization. Peace and development remain the main themes of our times. Safeguarding peace, promoting development and enhancing cooperation, which is the common desire of all peoples, represents the irresistible historical trend. On the other hand, destabilizing factors and uncertainties in the international situation are on the rise. Security issues of various kinds are interwoven. Peace remains evasive and development more pressing.

China, the largest developing country in the world, follows the path of peaceful development and pursues an independent foreign policy of peace. China stands ready to develop friendly relations and cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence so as to contribute to peace, stability and common prosperity around the world. The African continent, which encompasses the largest number of developing countries, is an important force for world peace and development. China-Africa traditional friendly relations face fresh opportunities under the new circumstances. By this African Policy Paper, the Chinese Government wishes to present to the world the objectives of China's policy towards Africa and the measures to achieve them, and its proposals for cooperation in various fields in the coming years, with a view to promoting the steady growth of China-Africa relations in the long term and bringing the mutually-beneficial cooperation to a new stage.

Part I:

Africa's Position and Role

Africa has a long history, vast expanse of land, rich natural resources and huge potential for

development. After long years of struggle, the African people freed themselves from colonial rule, wiped out apartheid, won independence and emancipation, thus making significant contribution to the progress of civilization.

Following their independence, countries in Africa have been conscientiously exploring a road to development suited to their national conditions and seeking peace, stability and development by joint efforts. Thanks to the concerted efforts of African countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/the African Union (AU), the political situation in Africa has been stable on the whole, regional conflicts are being gradually resolved and economy has been growing for years. The NEPAD has drawn up an encouraging picture of African rejuvenation and development. African countries have actively participated in the South-South cooperation and worked for the North-South dialogue. They are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs.

Africa still faces many challenges on its road of development. However, with the persistent efforts of African countries and the continuous support of the international community, Africa will surely surmount difficulties and achieve rejuvenation in the new century.

Part II:

China's Relations with Africa

China-Africa friendship is embedded in the long history of interchange. Sharing similar historical experience, China and Africa have all along sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle for national liberation and forged a profound friendship.

The founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of African countries ushered in a new era in China-Africa relations. For over half a century, the two sides have

enjoyed close political ties and frequent exchange of high-level visits and people-to-people contacts. Our bilateral trade and economic cooperation have grown rapidly; cooperation in other fields has yielded good results; and consultation and coordination in international affairs have been intensified. China has provided assistance to the best of its ability to African countries, while African countries have also rendered strong support to China on many occasions.

Sincerity, equality and mutual benefit, solidarity and common development-these are the principles guiding China-Africa exchange and cooperation and the driving force to lasting China-Africa relations.

Part III:

China's African Policy

Enhancing solidarity and cooperation with African countries has always been an important component of China's independent foreign policy of peace. China will unswervingly carry forward the tradition of China-Africa friendship, and, proceeding from the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and African peoples, establish and develop a new type of strategic partnership with Africa, featuring political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchange. The general principles and objectives of China's African policy are as follows:

- Sincerity, friendship and equality. China adheres to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, respects African countries' independent choice of the road of development and supports African countries' efforts to grow stronger through unity.
- Mutual benefit, reciprocity and common prosperity. China supports African countries'

endeavor for economic development and nation building, carries out cooperation in various forms in the economic and social development, and promotes common prosperity of China and Africa.

- Mutual support and close coordination. China will strengthen cooperation with Africa in the UN and other multilateral systems by supporting each other's just demand and reasonable propositions and continue to appeal to the international community to give more attention to questions concerning peace and development in Africa.

- Learning from each other and seeking common development. China and Africa will learn from and draw upon each other's experience in governance and development, strengthen exchange and cooperation in education, science, culture and health. Supporting African countries' efforts to enhance capacity building, China will work together with Africa in the exploration of the road of sustainable development.

The one China principle is the political foundation for the establishment and development of China's relations with African countries and regional organizations. The Chinese Government appreciates the fact that the overwhelming majority of African countries abide by the one China principle, refuse to have official relations and contacts with Taiwan and support China's great cause of reunification. China stands ready to establish and develop state-to-state relations with countries that have not yet established diplomatic ties with China on the basis of the one China principle.

Part IV

Enhancing All-round Cooperation Between China and Africa

1. The political field

(1) High-level visits

China will maintain the momentum of mutual visits and dialogues between Chinese and African leaders, with a view to facilitating communication, deepening friendship and promoting mutual understanding and trust.

(2) Exchanges between legislative bodies

China favors increased multi-level and multi-channel friendly exchanges on the basis of mutual respect between China's National People's Congress (NPC) on the one hand and parliaments of African countries and the Pan-African Parliament of the AU on the other, for the purpose of deepening understanding and cooperation.

(3) Exchanges between political parties

The Communist Party of China (CPC) develops exchanges of various forms with friendly political parties and organizations of African countries on the basis of the principles of independence, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The purpose of such exchanges is to increase understanding and friendship and seek trust and cooperation.

(4) Consultation mechanisms

Mechanisms such as national bilateral committees between China and African countries, political consultation between foreign ministries, joint(mixed) committees on trade and economic cooperation and mixed committees on science and technology should be established and improved, so as to institutionalize dialogue and consultation in a flexible and pragmatic manner.

(5) Cooperation in international affairs

China will continue to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with African countries on the international arena, conduct regular exchange of views, coordinate positions on major international and regional issues and stand for mutual support on major issues concerning state sovereignty, territorial integrity, national dignity and human rights. China supports African nations' desire to be an equal partner in international affairs. China is devoted, as are African nations, to making the UN play a greater role, defending the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, establishing a new international political and economic order featuring justice, rationality, equality and mutual benefit, promoting more democratic international relationship and rule of law in international affairs and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of developing countries.

(6) Exchanges between local governments

China's Central Government attaches importance to the exchanges between local governments of China and African countries, vigorously supports twin province/state and twin city relationship aimed at facilitating bilateral exchanges and cooperation in local development and administration.

2. The economic field

(1) Trade

The Chinese Government will adopt more effective measures to facilitate African commodities' access to Chinese market and fulfill its promise to grant duty-free treatment to some goods from the least developed African countries, with a view to expanding and balancing bilateral trade and optimizing trade structure. It intends to settle trade disputes and frictions properly through bilateral or multilateral friendly consultation, mutual

understanding and mutual accommodation. Efforts will be made to encourage business communities on both sides to set up China-Africa Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry. When conditions are ripe, China is willing to negotiate Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with African countries and African regional organizations.

(2) Investment

The Chinese Government encourages and supports Chinese enterprises' investment and business in Africa, and will continue to provide preferential loans and buyer credits to this end. The Chinese Government is ready to explore new channels and new ways for promoting investment cooperation with African countries, and will continue to formulate and improve relevant policies, provide guidance and service and offer convenience. African countries are welcome to make investment in China. The Chinese Government will continue to negotiate, conclude and implement the Agreement on Bilateral Facilitation and Protection of Investment and the Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation with African Countries. The two sides should work together to create a favorable environment for investment and cooperation and protect the legitimate rights and interests of investors from both sides.

(3) Financial cooperation

To further develop China-Africa cooperation in the area of finance, the Chinese Government will support the effort of Chinese financial institutions to increase exchanges and cooperation with their counterparts in African countries as well as regional financial institutions in Africa.

(4) Agricultural cooperation

China intends to further promote its agricultural cooperation and exchanges with African

nations at various levels, through multiple channels and in various forms. Focus will be laid on the cooperation in land development, agricultural plantation, breeding technologies, food security, agricultural machinery and the processing of agricultural and side-line products. China will intensify cooperation in agricultural technology, organize training courses of practical agricultural technologies, carry out experimental and demonstrative agricultural technology projects in Africa and speed up the formulation of China-Africa Agricultural Cooperation Program.

(5) Infrastructure

The Chinese Government will step up China-Africa cooperation in transportation, communication, water conservancy, electricity and other infrastructures. It will vigorously encourage Chinese enterprises to participate in the building of infrastructure in African countries, scale up their contracts, and gradually establish multilateral and bilateral mechanisms on contractual projects. Efforts will be made to strengthen technology and management cooperation, focusing on the capacity-building of African nations.

(6) Resources cooperation

The Chinese Government facilitates information sharing and cooperation with Africa in resources areas. It encourages and supports competent Chinese enterprises to cooperate with African nations in various ways on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit and common development, to develop and exploit rationally their resources, with a view to helping African countries to translate their advantages in resources to competitive strength, and realize sustainable development in their own countries and the continent as a whole.

(7) Tourism cooperation

China will implement the program of Chinese citizens' group tour to some African nations and, grant more African countries, as they wish and as far as feasible, Approved Destination Status for out-bound Chinese tourist groups. China welcomes citizens from African nations for a tour of the country.

(8) Debt reduction and relief

China is ready to continue friendly consultation with some African countries with a view to seek solution to, or reduction of, the debts they owe to China. It will urge the international community, developed countries in particular, to take more substantial action on the issue of debt reduction and relief for African nations.

(9) Economic assistance

In light of its own financial capacity and economic situation, China will do its best to provide and gradually increase assistance to African nations with no political strings attached.

(10) Multilateral cooperation

China is ready to enhance consultation and coordination with Africa within multilateral trade systems and financial institutions and work together to urge the UN and other international organizations to pay more attention to the question of economic development, promote South-South cooperation, push forward the establishment of a just and rational multilateral trade system and make the voices of developing countries heard in the decision-making of international financial affairs. It will step up cooperation with other countries and international organizations to support the development of Africa and help realize Millennium Development Goals in Africa.

3. Education, science, culture, health and social aspects

(1) Cooperation in human resources development and education

The Chinese Government will give full play to the role of its "African Human Resources Development Foundation" in training African personnel. It will identify priority areas, expand areas of cooperation and provide more input according to the needs of African countries so as to achieve greater results.

Exchange of students between China and Africa will continue. China will increase the number of government scholarships as it sees fit, continue to send teachers to help African countries in Chinese language teaching and carry out educational assistance project to help develop Africa's weak disciplines. It intends to strengthen cooperation in such fields as vocational education and distance learning while encouraging exchanges and cooperation between educational and academic institutions of both sides.

(2) Science and technology cooperation

Following the principles of mutual respect, complementarity and sharing benefits, China will promote its cooperation with Africa in the fields of applied research, technological development and transfer, speed up scientific and technological cooperation in the fields of common interest, such as bio-agriculture, solar energy utilization, geological survey, mining and R&D of new medicines. It will continue its training programs in applied technologies for African countries, carry out demonstration programs of technical assistance, and actively help disseminate and utilize Chinese scientific and technological achievements and advanced technologies applicable in Africa.

(3) Cultural exchanges

China will implement agreements of cultural cooperation and relevant implementation plans

reached with African countries, maintain regular contacts with their cultural departments and increase exchanges of artists and athletes. It will guide and promote cultural exchanges in diverse forms between people's organizations and institutions in line with bilateral cultural exchange programs and market demand.

(4) Medical and health cooperation

China is ready to enhance medical personnel and information exchange with Africa. It will continue to send medical teams and provide medicines and medical materials to African countries, and help them establish and improve medical facilities and train medical personnel. China will increase its exchanges and cooperation with African countries in the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases including HIV/AIDS and malaria and other diseases, research and application of traditional medicine and experience concerning mechanism for public health emergencies.

(5) Media cooperation

China wishes to encourage multi-tiered and multi-formed exchange and cooperation between the media on both sides, so as to enhance mutual understanding and enable objective and balanced media coverage of each other. It will facilitate the communication and contacts between relevant government departments for the purpose of sharing experiences on ways to handle the relations with media both domestic and foreign, and guiding and facilitating media exchanges.

(6) Administrative cooperation

China will carry out exchange and cooperation with African countries in civil service system building, public administration reform and training of government personnel. The two sides

may study the feasibility of setting up a mechanism for personnel and administrative cooperation.

(7) Consular cooperation

China will hold regular/irregular consular consultations with African countries during which the two sides may have amicable discussions on urgent problems or questions of common interest in bilateral or multilateral consular relations in order to improve understanding and expand cooperation. The Chinese side will work with Africa to facilitate personnel flow and ensure the safety of their nationals.

(8) People-to-people exchange

China will encourage and facilitate the exchanges between people's organizations of China and Africa, especially the youth and women, with a view to increasing the understanding, trust and cooperation of people on both sides. It will encourage and guide Chinese volunteers to serve in African countries.

(9) Environmental cooperation

China will actively promote China-Africa cooperation in climate change, water resources conservation, anti-desertification, bio-diversity and other areas of environmental protection by facilitating technological exchange.

(10) Disaster reduction, relief and humanitarian assistance

China will actively carry out personnel exchange, training and technological cooperation in the fields of disaster reduction and relief. It will respond quickly to African countries' request for urgent humanitarian aid, encourage and support exchange and cooperation between the Red Cross Society of China and other NGOs on the one side and their African

counterparts on the other side.

4. Peace and security

(1) Military cooperation

China will promote high-level military exchanges between the two sides and actively carry out military-related technological exchanges and cooperation. It will continue to help train African military personnel and support defense and army building of African countries for their own security.

(2) Conflict settlement and peacekeeping operations

China supports the positive efforts by the AU and other African regional organizations and African countries concerned to settle regional conflicts and will provide assistance within our own capacity. It will urge the UN Security Council to pay attention to and help resolve regional conflicts in Africa. It will continue its support to and participation in UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.

(3) Judicial and police cooperation

China is prepared to promote exchange and cooperation between Chinese and African judicial and law enforcement departments. The two sides may learn from each other in legal system building and judicial reform so as to be better able to prevent, investigate and crack down on crimes. China will work together with African countries to combat transnational organized crimes and corruption, and intensify cooperation on matters concerning judicial assistance, extradition and repatriation of criminal suspects.

China will cooperate closely with immigration departments of African countries in tackling the problem of illegal migration, improve exchange of immigration control information and

set up an unimpeded and efficient channel for intelligence and information exchange.

(4) Non-traditional security areas

In order to enhance the ability of both sides to address non-traditional security threats, it is necessary to increase intelligence exchange, explore more effective ways and means for closer cooperation in combating terrorism, small arms smuggling, drug trafficking, transnational economic crimes, etc.

Part V:

Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and Its Follow-up Actions

Launched in 2000, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation has become an effective mechanism for the collective dialogue and multilateral cooperation between China and Africa and put in place an important framework and platform for a new type of China-Africa partnership featuring long-term stability, equality and mutual benefit.

China attaches importance to the positive role of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in strengthening political consultation and pragmatic cooperation between China and Africa, and stands ready to work with African countries to conscientiously implement the Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, the Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation-Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) and its follow-up action plans. China will work with African countries within the framework of the Forum to explore new ways to enhance mutual political trust, promote the comprehensive development of pragmatic cooperation, further improve the mechanism of the forum, and try to find the best way for furthering cooperation between the Forum and the NEPAD.

Part VI:

China's Relations with African Regional Organizations

China appreciates the significant role of the AU in safeguarding peace and stability in the region and promoting African solidarity and development. China values its friendly cooperation with the AU in all fields, supports its positive role in regional and international affairs and stands ready to provide the AU assistance to the best of its capacity.

China appreciates and supports the positive role of Africa's sub-regional organizations in promoting political stability, economic development and integration in their own regions and stands ready to enhance its amicable cooperation with those organizations.

Source: Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) accessed from:
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